Vol. IV. Numb. 31

The EXAMINER.

From Monday Auguſt 31, to Friday September 4, 1713.

— Non deficit alter
Aureus, & ſimili frondeſcit virga metallo. Virgil.

*** *This* PAPER, *during the Receſs of Parliament, will come out only Once a Week,* viz. *on* Fridays.

I Have ſeveral Letters now by me, moſt of them from Correſpondents in the Country, requeſting me to be very Particular in deſcribing the Qualifications neceſſary for ſuch as would repreſent us in the enſuing *Parliament*; and ſome of my Friends complain that I have been remarkably Backward in this Article. The Truth is, my Countrymen gave ſuch convincing Proofs of a good Judgment in the Choice of Men the laſt Parliament, that I had no manner of reaſon to doubt of their miſplacing their Favours in the next; or to imagain that they ſhould entirely forget themſelves, and give their Voices for their own Undoing. We have therefore little elſe to do but to repeat what was ſo ſeaſonably inculcated, at the Diſſolution of the *Laſt Whig Houſe of Commons* that, I believe and hope, this Nation will ever be troubled with, and ſo well practic'd and follow'd by our *Country Electors*. The Advice then given given is ſo much the ſtronger now, as it has ſtood the Efforts and Attacks of all the united Forces of *Whig-Logick* and *Policy*, and triumph'd over the noiſy Oppoſition of Slander, Falſhood and Calumny. It may now be ſeen, which Party was in the Right, by a courſe of Experiments during the *Three Laſt Years*; and whether *We* or the *Whigs* were moſt deceiv'd in our Men, or in the Succeſs and Conſequences of that Truſt and Confidence we repos'd in them. The *Whigs* gave out, that the *Laſt Houſe of Commons* would bring in the *Pretender*, Sacrifice the *Allies* to *France*, ruin *Trade* and *Publick Credit*, and do a thouſand other Things beſides, that muſt have been the Effects of a deep, incurable Frenzy; and on this Account it was, that the *Whigs* pretended to ſet themſelves to oppoſe them with ſo much Vigour and Reſolution. On the other hand, the *Tories* alledged, that the *Whigs* had well nigh ruin'd the Nation, and ſacrific'd *Great Britain* to *Foreigners*; that there was no Proſpect of having an End put to the *War* in which we were then engag'd, or of reaping any Advantage to our ſelves by it; that the Prerogative and Honour of the *Crown* were Inſulted and trampled under Foot, the *Church*, a Part of the Conſtitution, in imminent Danger, the People gall'd with Taxes, and cramp't in their Rights and Privileges, the preſent Generation blended with *Forreign Outcaſts* and *Renegades*, and the next Generation put under a ſtrange Yoke, and delivered over to the Griping, Arbitrary Claws of a *State*, that had formerly lain as Suppliants at our Feet; that theſe Epidemical Diſeaſes, or rather this Compound of Maladies, wanted a ſpeedy and effectual Cure, that other Repreſentatives were the only Phyſicians, and that the Clamour raiſed by the *Whigs*, about the *Pretender*, the *Grand Alliance*, the *Chicane* and *Grandeur* of *France*, was but Clamour, the laſt Refuge and Argument of Fools with Knaves at the head of them, who are taught to believe and ſay any thing, that thoſe, who have a Work of Miſchief upon their Hands, may not have their Tools laid by, and made Blunt and Uſeleſs. Now upon the Trial, do not the *Tories* appear to have been in the Right, and the *Whigs* to have been wilfully Malicious, or wretchedly Miſtaken? The *Laſt Houſe of Commons*, inſtead of being in the *French* Intereſt, inſtead of deſerting the *Grand Alliance* or bringing in the *Pretender*, have ſupported *Her Majeſty* in the concluding of a ſafe, honourable, and in all human Probability, a laſting *Peace*; have given an additional Security to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and enabled *Her* to procure for *Her* Allies, all that *She* was oblig'd to by Treaty, or which was in Juſtice due to them, or neceſſary to the common Safety and Repoſe of *Europe*. At the ſame time, that they utterly diſappointed the *Whigs*, in every thing that their inveterate Malice and love of Falſhood had inſpired them to foretel, they abundantly anſwer'd the reaſonable Hopes and Expectations of all Good Men, and eſpecially of thoſe who had deputed them as their Repreſentatives, by applying a Remedy to moſt of our domeſtick Evils and Grievances, and putting the reſt, where Time muſt co-operate with their good Endeavours, in a fair way for a recovery. We have therefore all the reaſon in the World to wiſh for the *Same Men* again, I mean the *Same* in Temper, Principle and Diſpoſition; who, upon the Tryal, have been found to be true and faithful, who have diſcharged one *Triennial Truſt* with Honour, and therefore are abundantly fit to have another repoſed in them. Their Conduct hath been approved and applauded in the ſeaſonable united *Addreſſes* of their Fellow-Subjects: *Her Majeſty* parted from them, with a moſt Gracious Return of *Thanks*, and a *Bleſſing* upon their *Memory*. It would be baſe Ingratitude to *Her*, as well as a Neglect of our own Intereſt and Preſervation, not to Gratifie *Her* in the reaſonable Expectation *She* hath entertain'd, of meeting *ſuch another Parliament* at *Weſtminſter* next Winter. We ought to uſe our Liberty as *She* does *Her* Prerogative, for the common Good and Safety; and give a *Vote*, with this View, to which *She* Sacrifices *Her* Eaſe, Quiet, Pomp and Abundance, not recompencing the Weight of the Crown with its Luſtre and Ornaments: For Freedom does not conſiſt in *Oppoſition*, as to the *Exerciſe*, but only as to the *Power*: Such a Principle would make the Subject as great a Tyrant, as that Sovereign muſt be, who imagines that the Prerogative conſiſts in the *continual Exerciſe* of it over his People: And tho' our Government conſiſts of *Parts*, that have a *mutual Cheque* upon each other, yet neither of the Parts interferes, but for the correcting of ſome Diſorder, which may endanger the whole; and the moſt happy State is when all the Members and the Head act regularly and uniformly, performing their ſeveral Operations together, without Interruption or Diſcord. But who can account for the ſurprizing Conduct of the *Whigs*, whom no Truth can convince, and no Convictions can reform? They are then moſt ſtrenuous in their Oppoſition, when there is leaſt Occaſion for it, when nothing is out of Order in the State, but Themſelves. They ſet themſelves againſt the *Tories*, as all their Writers gave out, becauſe they were *Jacobites*, and *Friends to the Pretender*; but are they not convinc'd, that this was an Ill-grounded Suſpicion, mere Slander and Calumny? The laſt Parliament hath wip'd out that Stain, and, one would think, ſhould have ſtop'd the wideſt Mouth that the Devil ever open'd, or Malice ever fill'd. Why then do they not retract their Error, and repent of it? Why do they not make thoſe Gentlemen ſome amends, for accuſing them falſly, and being Jealous of their Loyalty and Honeſty without a Cauſe? Why do they not join their Intereſt with them, and reject the *Faction*, who led them into ſuch Miſtakes, who kept them Blind and Ignorant, and by the moſt ſubtle Artifices fomented a Miſunderſtanding between them and the moſt faithful and ſincere Lovers of their Country? Many indeed are become ſenſible of this Deluſion, and will no longer let *Faction* get the better of their Senſes; but there are harden'd Wretches and Reprobates among them, who are unworthy of that Pity we offer'd them,

them, and whose Behaviour is a sufficient Proof, that whatever hath been said or suspected of their Leaders, and their Designs upon our Government, or of their irreconcileable Hatred to the Constitution in Church and State, is undoubtedly true; that their being disappointed in these Designs is their greatest Grievance, and the occasion of all that Noise and Bustle which they are at present the Authors of: And it convinces us further, that it is no such uncharitable Expression, as some would make it, to say they have other Designs *which they dare not own*; for the Nature of their Malice, and of those Broils and Disorders which they have fomented, is such, that unless the utter Ruin of a great, happy and flourishing State were to be the Prize they contend for, it would be very ill Husbandry to lay out all the Faculties and Powers of *Faction* in so extraordinary a manner; and their Ancestors never fought for less, when they muster'd all their Forces, and took up the very same Weapons.

I return now to my Country Correspondents, and must acquaint them, that I cannot, out of respect to them, comply with their Respect. Why should I recite the Qualifications for Members of Parliament, when they remember what Men they chose last, and how well that Choice was approv'd, and how happy the Nation is in the Councels and Conduct of those Representatives? They have nothing to do but to follow their own Precedent; and therefore I had much rather put them in mind of what sort of Men the *last Parliament* consisted, as the best way to recommend Candidates for the next. The Inference is, Let us have the same again, or Men like them; and this Hint our *Electors* seem to have caught at already, so far at least as I can form a Judgment of their Sentiments, by the *Returns* already made. So that at the same time that I am recalling the Memory of the *last Parliament*, I shall give a Character of the next, and make all my Fellow-Subjects glad, by foretelling the Accomplishment of their best Wishes and Expectations.

They were Men who took such Care of the Honour, Interest and Security of the *Protestant Succession*, as shew'd that they really had it at Heart, and that it was not mere Clamour and Noise, but went deeper than their Mouths: By behaving themselves so as became the Honour and Dignity of that Great and Good *Queen*, who fills the Throne, and as Men who reckon'd a hasty Demise of the Crown among the Curses and Misfortunes that our National Provocations had justly call'd for, they certainly concurr'd more agreeably with the *Illustrious House of Hanover*, in all their Sentiments and Wishes, than those false Friends to that Family, who were perpetually alarming us with wrong Accounts of the State of the Royal Health, who appear'd to be in haste for any *Successor*, and who were pushing Things to such an Extremity, as must have ended in an *Alteration*, more fatal to us than the Demise of the Crown could possibly be. By Guarding and Securing the Crown it self, they made the best Provision for the *Succession*, and made it not only for our Interest that the *House of Hanover* should succeed, but for the Interest of that Family too: Since it is not to be believ'd, unless the Publick Affairs had been happily retriev'd by such Management, that a Prince of so Illustrious a Race, and so Generous a Nature, in whom the *Old Saxon* Blood is united to the *Stuarts*, would have left his *Obedient Germans*, to be the Shadow of a *British King*, the *Creature*, as they were pleas'd to call it, of a Rebellious People, a Slave and Tributary Dependent upon *Foreigners*, and an Executioner of the Will and Pleasure of a *Faction*.

They were Men, who not only convinced the World of their being of *Some Religion*, but of the *Purest*; they not only look'd on *Popery* as the Common Enemy, but an Enemy, whose Power and Abilities to hurt us, consisted more in our Divisions and Disorders, than in any Strength of its own. And therefore instead of weakning us by multiplying Divisions amongst us, by flinging down the Pale of the Church, and filling her with a motley Herd and confus'd Mixture, and with the foolish Projects of *Comprehension* and *Occasional Communion*, they gave new Lustre and Vigour to the *Church* of *England*, rebuilt her Ruins, fortified her Breaches, and added Strength to her Cement, as being the most approved Fortress and Bulwark against the *Romish* Tyranny and Superstitions, of any other Church in *Europe*. They kept close to the Standard of the *Reformation*; which was both the Wisdom and Security of our Forefathers; and when at a vast Expence and with great Hazard they had sav'd Her by *one Revolution*, they would not suffer Her Enemies to ruin Her by *another*.

They merited the free, open, unreserv'd Thanks of *Her Majesty*, for taking care of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, for assisting in placing *Her* at the Head of the Grand Alliance, for enabling *Her* to give Peace to *Europe*, and for rescuing *Her* Royal Office and Authority from Foreign Insults and Dependencies, from the Progress of the *Republican Scheme* at home, from the Treachery, Pride and Avarice of *Overgrown Subjects*, and the pernicious Influence of the Doctrine of *Resistance*, made Synonimous by Practise to *Rebellion*, an *Iniquity*, that had almost *been established by a Law*.

They won the Hearts of the People in their publick Station, as they had their Voices in a private, by being most tender of their Rights and Privileges, and by promoting the common Good in all their Proceedings. They deliver'd us from a long and expensive War, and from a heavy Entail of Taxes, that must in time have devour'd the Vitals of the State. They took off the Blood-sucking Plunderer and Oppressor, that had so long gorg'd his Avarice and Ambition with our Spoils. They sav'd us from that Yoke, which a *Cabal* and *Confederacy of Tyrants* had resolv'd to put upon our Necks. They restor'd *Publick Credit*, and the *Honour of Parliaments*, just as both were expiring. They deliver'd us from the Plague of having our Race fully'd with a *Foreign Mixture*, and the Tenor of our Government made *Precarious*. They preserv'd the *Rights of Elections*, in spite even of those advantageous Precedents, which their Enemies had set them; and they kept up a friendly Correspondence with the *Court* and the *House* of *Peers*, such as is necessary to the Publick Welfare and Tranquility, without infringing the least Shadow of those Privileges, which the Pretended Bigots for popular Right would have heretofore given up to a Sett of *Illustrious Upstarts*. They took care to preserve those *Freeholds* of *Great Britain*, in Right of which, they are now to be Elected, from being suck'd up and devour'd by the *General Mortgage*; and at the same time were the most generous Benefactors to *Trade* imaginable, by saving it from the Incroachments of our Neighbours, by promoting our Manufactures at home, and opening new Sluices for venting them abroad; and especially by rescuing that, which ought to be a *common Concern*, from the Contention of Parties, and from being made the most dangerous Monopoly of all, *a Monopoly to Faction*.

I need not tell the World, that in chusing this Parliament, the *Good Old Maxims*, set us by our Ancestors, were better observed, than in the Choice of any other *Parliament* since the *Revolution*. They were, in the Generality, Men of Birth, Fortune, and Estates. *Britains* and *Gentlemen*. Neighbours to those they Represented, and known amongst them. Bred at home; Lovers of but one Country. Such as had no occasion to Bribe, or be Brib'd; who might reform a Court, but not be Corrupted by it. Men, not wanting to be Employ'd, and yet the fittest for it; and who could reconcile the old jarring Interests, and make the *Court* and *Country* all one.

Such were the Men who *did lately represent* us; and therefore I need not advise my Countrymen about those Candidates, who *should represent* us for the future, nor will I say, that I hope we shall have such a *House* of *Commons*, as will appear to be *Well-affected to the Present Ministry*, as Well-affected as the *Last*. Some of my Fellow-Writers might spare that Article. A *House* of *Commons*, consisting of such Members as I have described, so Loyal and Publick Spirited, must be *Well-affected to the Present Ministry*, and the *Present Ministry* to them. The *Present Ministry* are themselves such Men, so Qualify'd and so Accomplish'd; and where there is a perfect Sympathy in Principles and Designs, all other Engagement are utterly unnecessary. And hence it is, that whether we have the *Same Parliament* or *Such a Parliament*, is all one to those, who are less Concern'd for *Names* than *Men*. I shall only add on this Subject, what does indeed carry the Face of Bribery, that the *Best Representatives of the People*, are the *Ornaments* of the *Present Ministry*, as those, who violated the Trust most, were the *King-leaders* of the *Last*.

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